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## THE GENDER OF ENGLISH LOAN-NOUNS IN NORSE DIALECTS IN AMERICA;

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
GRAMMATICAL GENDER.<sup>1</sup>

§ 1. **I**N the domain of comparative grammar no subject is of greater interest than the origin of that mysterious grammatical mechanism known as noun gender. It is clear that the old theory, first suggested by Herder and supported by Adelung but most closely associated with the name of Grimm, and widely accepted among scholars even down to our own day, must be given up. This theory has again found recent support in a most able and enthusiastic exposition by Roethe in his introduction to the new reprint of Grimm's Grammar (1890). According to this, grammatical gender owes its origin to the creative fancy of primitive man. The substance concept, which found linguistic expression in the noun, primitive man individualized and personified and then further endowed with the chief characteristic of persons, sex. Every noun-concept was then supposed to have had in itself a certain something which left upon the primitive mind an impression of masculinity or of femininity, from which would follow the subsequent sexualization. There is pictured to us then a golden age in which primitive man lived constantly on exalted heights of fancy and imagined all objects about him as possessing life and endowed with human attributes. This poetic view of the origin of gender was born in the imagination of the poet Herder. That it should appeal to the romantic mind of Jakob Grimm we can understand. It is due to his formulation and most skilful presentation that Science has so long been led to accept so fanci-

<sup>1</sup>The main part of this article was given as a paper before the Modern Language Association of America, at the meeting in Baltimore, Dec., 1902. The paper was presented under the auspices of the American Dialect Society and was read by Professor O. F. Emerson.

ful an explanation of the origin of gender. Brugmann has shown<sup>1</sup> that such a view is contradictory to the known facts of gender, that the idea of masculine or feminine sex is in the historical period nowhere connected with grammatical gender. The contradictions between sex and grammatical gender are numerous in all Indo-European languages. Epicene nouns afford added evidence. Furthermore there is variance of gender not only between language and language but also between the different dialects of a single language. Michels has shown<sup>2</sup> that personification could not have generally taken place. Still less, then, could sexualization have taken place. He has furthermore proved that there were present in the time when gender originated a number of noun concepts that were not even individualized, where personification, then, could not take place. Roethe adduces evidence from the personifications of Mythology.<sup>3</sup> But here we have to do with objects that were distant, unknown, incomprehensible to the mind of early man, and hence calculated to excite his wonder. We have, then, here the necessary conditions. Such personification of, for instance, the sun, the moon, or thunder, we observe in uncultured peoples of to-day. But so far from these proving the theory, they are rather exceptions proving the rule that personification and sexualization of all inanimate objects did not and could not have taken place in primitive times. Brugmann emphasizes the fact that the theory places a barrier between the present and the past which Science cannot recognize.<sup>4</sup> It is from the known that we must proceed to the unknown. It is from the study of the nature of gender in history that we must expect to find the solution of the question of the nature of gender in early times. We must assume that the nature of gender was not essentially different then from what it has been in the historical period. We must apply to the unknown the laws and principles deduced from the

<sup>1</sup> *The Nature and Origin of the Noun-genders in the Indo-European Languages*. A lecture delivered on the occasion of Sesqui-centennial celebration of Princeton University. Translated by E. Y. Robbins, Chas. Scribners, N. Y., 1897.

<sup>2</sup> 'Zur Beurtheilung von Jacob Grimms Ansicht über das grammatische Geschlecht.' *Germania* 36, (1891), pp. 121-135.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction to *Grimms Deutsche Grammatik*, 1890.

<sup>4</sup> P. 12 and following of the work cited.

study of the known. Brugmann's theory I may briefly state as follows: The rise of grammatical gender is closely linked with certain form-groups in primitive nouns. The first gender to develop out of these was the Feminine which is explained in this way: The original function of the *ā*-suffix was to form abstracts and collectives. We can imagine *equā* formed from *equos*, the latter meaning 'horse' in general, and *equā* 'that which characterizes horse' or 'a drove of horses.' *Equā* then developed to mean 'the flock of mares' out of which came the concrete meaning 'mare.' This process of meaning-change is illustrated in the German *Huhn* originally a generic term, then 'the flock of hens' as opposed to *Hahn*, from which came about later the concrete application. The Indo-Germanic word for woman *guenā* (Gothic *qinō*, Old Norse *kona*) can originally have meant 'bearing,' 'parturition,' out of which came the application of the word to 'the animal that bears.' Such change from the abstract to the concrete is seen in the German *die Schönheit* and English *youth*. This *ā*-suffix did not originally have any feminine signification, but later assumed that signification by reason of its presence in a few feminines. After it had received this meaning the feminine association was readily transferred to other words ending in *ā*. Not until the *ā*-suffix had assumed this new function did the *-o-s* stems develop the idea of masculinity by contrast. When finally the *ā*-suffix became productive and could attach itself to new stems with this new meaning a feminine gender-class was formed. This theory was first presented by Brugmann in 1888,<sup>1</sup> was accepted and further developed to include the *ǣ*-suffix class by Victor Michels in 1891 in *Germania* (36), pp. 121-136. In his Princeton address Brugmann presented his theory anew with admirable clearness and accepted the modifications of Michels. Contrary to Grimm's theory then, (grammatical) gender is shown to be the prior and sex (gender) the posterior.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Das Nominalgeschlecht in den indogermanischen Sprachen,' in *Teichmeyer's Internationale Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* iv, 100 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> On this Brugmann's position is supported by the evidence of non-Indo-European languages and languages that are in a primitive state of development. In the American Indian languages grammatical gender as we know it does not exist. Nevertheless there are classifications and grammatical cate-

Thus it is seen that even the personifications of mythology are not an evidence for the older theory but are explainable by the new. It was the feminine idea inherent in the ending *ā* which made *Luna* a goddess and not a god. So in Greek *γαῖα*, 'Earth' is a goddess. For the same reason Greek *ὕπνος* 'Sleep,' became a god. It is then the grammatical form of the noun through the impulse of analogy that decided the gender. So in Germanic mythology 'Night' is a goddess because the appellative was a feminine noun, not because of any characteristic inherent in the concept.

§ 2. Wheeler's theory which is presented in detail in *The Journal of Germanic Philology* 2, (1899), pp. 528-543 was first outlined in 1889.<sup>1</sup> Wheeler calls attention to the inadequacy of Brugmann's theory. That while proving the untenability of the older view it offers nothing that is final by way of a substitute. It makes no provision for isolated stems not members of a well-defined suffix class. The *ī*-suffix class of feminines is not explained for the process of feminization in a new ending *ī* is not likely after the *ā*-suffix had assumed this function. Wheeler has shown a weakness in Brugmann's view. We are the more ready to follow Wheeler in the development of his theory when we bear in mind that the slender thread that connects the *ā*-class of nouns with the feminine gender is the presence of one or two nouns in *ā* that denoted females. The negative conditions are present. The reasons offered are, however, by no means con-

gories of a primitive type. In the Catawba language which is devoid of all signs of inflexions for gender, there is variation in the use of the demonstrative pronoun based on the idea of nearness to or distance from the speaker. ('Grammatical Sketch of the Catawba Language,' in *The American Ethnologist*, Vol. 2, No. 3, (1900) p. 527 sqq). The classifications in the Indian languages are quite generally into the animate and the inanimate as in Dakota and Cherokee, or into higher and lower classes. (H. Winkler, *Weiteres zur Sprachgeschichte*, Berlin, 1889, p. 4-9.) That is, there is here a sort of figurative gender division, cf. for instance the African Il-Oigob manner of designating a large or a small object by prefixing *ol*=large, or *en*=small, e. g.: *ol-alem*=large knife, *en-alem*=small knife, and cf. with this the real gender function of these prefixes in *ol-Oigob*=Oigobman and *en-Oigob*=Oigob woman. Winkler pp. 53-54. Nor do the ural-altaic languages have any fixed, well-developed mechanism for designating gender (Winkler, p. 13.). Grammatical gender is only present in the most highly developed languages.

<sup>1</sup> 'Grammatical Gender' in *Classical Review* 3, p. 390 sqq.

clusive. When we consider that there were present nouns in *os* denoting a female we may even say that the probability has not been established. Wheeler's theory seems to me to be open to the least objections. Furthermore it is the one to which the evidence of modern analytical languages and especially genderless dialects point, and here it seems to me we have most favorable conditions for a study of the question. Wheeler's theory<sup>1</sup> is that the development of grammatical gender in the noun has been determined by the inflexions of the pronoun. He points out the fact that gender was originally indicated in the Indo-European languages neither by the verb nor the noun, so we must expect to find its origin in the pronoun or the adjective, that it is in the pronoun that we find the opportunity for the emergence and development of categories distinguishing sex-gender and in the gender-forms of the pronoun the possibility for forming groups of words among the nouns. The English language which has lost its grammatical gender is a perfect illustration of dependence upon the pronouns for special mechanism in the indication of sex. Epicene nouns have gender only as indicated by the pronoun. The sex-gender inherent in the pronoun created a concord of the adjective and grafted itself upon those suffixal classifications of the noun which as a result of this process of engrafting have come to exhibit the phenomena of grammatical gender. The concord between pronoun and noun was established by means of the adjective as attested by the concord of the adjective (*-os*, *-ā*, *-om*). The adjective however in its original inflexion agreed with the pronoun rather than the noun. But how is the origin of the gender endings accounted for? The pronoun *sā*, Skr. *sā*, Greek *ῆ* whose great age is indicated by its isolation from a system was the source of the *a*-ending. Another feminine pronoun I. E. *sī* (*syā*), Goth. *si*, O. Irish *sī* may furnish a clew to the origin of the feminine *ī(jā)*-suffix. This would then account for the rise of the feminine gender categories in *-ā* and *-ī*. The variety of causes that might have played a part in determining gender (i. e. in associating a particular pronoun with a particular word) it is of course now not possible to

<sup>1</sup> P. 535 sqq., of *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. 2.

determine. The isolated stems are not accounted for by Brugmann, nor is any explanation offered of the psychological process which came to attach an idea of grammatical gender—the feminine—to a particular noun-class as opposed to the masculine, except over the very narrow bridge of one feminine in *-ā*, *genā* (*guenā*). That the *s*-ending of the nominative originally had nothing to do with the denotation of grammatical gender is shown by the fact that nouns which had already developed a feminine gender retained the *s* in the third declension, and in nouns like ἡ ὁδός as also elsewhere. It is furthermore present in epicene nouns. The *ā*-form was grafted upon the adjective (and the noun-adjective) of the *-os* ending as a further and more precise denotation when an object of female sex was referred to by such adjective or noun-adjective; thus e. g. *sā leuquós*, *sā leuqā*, or *leuqā*. The *ā*-sign was not introduced into words that bore in themselves the means of precise denotation (hence *snusós*, 'daughter in law,' for example). When once the possibility of such modification of the adjective into *-os*, *-ā* *-om* had been established the noun easily became affected, that is the concord that had been established as between noun and adjective extended itself to the noun. An adjective in *-ā* might be used as a noun and the idea of femininity being inherent in the ending, becoming productive, would in time produce a gender category of feminine words in *-ā*. Other words in *-ā* would come to take on some connection with the idea of femininity. By contrast those in *s* would become masculines. The fact that the collective abstracts in *-ā* and the verbals in *-os* bore a parallel development to that of the she-nouns in *-ā* and the he-nouns in *-os*, (as *nevā*, *nevós*) aided in giving a quasi-feminine idea to the abstract-collectives. In its origin then as in its later history I. E. gender is a blending of two systems, the classifications depend partly on meaning and partly on form. Through their coherence the old form-classes which predominated developed into an organized system affected especially by the adjective concord which afforded greater precision. The idea of sex-gender was not then spontaneously developed out of the old form-classes which is Brugmann's view, but the form-classes are themselves the product of the concord in pronoun, adjective,

and noun for the purpose of preciseness in denotation brought about by the grafting of the pronoun ending upon the adjective and the noun and infusing this new life or gender-idea upon the old form-classes.

§. 3. The resultant identity of gender in isolated stems as well as in form-classes differing in form could only arise, it seems to me, by association with an outward symbol such as the demonstrative or the substitutory pronoun. Assimilation of gender in living languages is the result of the levelling tendency of external symbols. But why, it might be asked, should the feminine substitutory pronoun and not the masculine be associated with a particular noun or class of nouns? We can readily understand that there were present a variety of associations tending to determine gender, causes that it is not now possible for us to determine. Frequently it would depend upon the nature of the object. Often perhaps upon the subjective attitude. In so far as the associations might be different in different localities we can readily imagine that the same noun developed a different gender in different localities. Hence, then, the difference in gender of the same word in different I. E. languages. Words which fell into well-defined gender categories by reason of their ending were also less susceptible to fluctuation. Isolated stems would be more likely to fluctuate. Of the process of grafting of the demonstrative pronoun upon the noun we have in the historical period a perfect illustration in the post-positive article of the Scandinavian languages. This article, which is the outward gender symbol of the noun, comes in Old Norse from the demonstrative pronoun *hinn* masc., *hin* fem., *hit* neut., e. g. *boginn* < *bogi hinn*; *bokin* < *boki hin*, *skipit* < *skip hitt*. Of this well-known process in O. N. it is not necessary to speak further here. Furthermore it is clear that if we are dealing with the origin of gender the evidence of non-Indo-European languages that have grammatical gender should also be considered. The Indo-European languages are a highly developed family. In the inflexional languages the idea of gender pervades the whole system in highly developed gender categories. We shall expect to find that more primitive languages, as far as they have gender, will throw light on what must have



been the original method of indicating grammatical gender. These languages illustrate and, indeed, prove the correctness of the above theory. We find grammatical gender in the Semitic family, in the Hamitic languages, and in a primitive state in other non-Aryan groups. Gender is, we know, indicated in pronoun, adjective, noun, and verb. In the Semitic-Hamitic languages verb-gender is highly developed. Whether it ever existed in Indo-Germanic we do not know. The gender of noun, pronoun, and adjective is fully developed in these families. In method of classification and in gender designation there are many points of similarity between Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages. *Now wherever gender distinctions exist they exist in the pronoun. Where they are imperfectly developed they are best developed in the pronoun. Where they are in a developing state it is in the pronoun that the effort at gender differentiation is first evidenced.* In some of the South-Hamitic languages gender is indicated only in the pronoun. The American Indian languages do not have grammatical gender but in a few cases the distinction is made in the pronoun e. g. in the Timacua language of Florida—*oque*, 'he' *ya*, 'she'—(Henning, 414).<sup>1</sup> In the Haussa language of northwestern Africa the masc. and the fem. gender is indicated especially in the pronoun, only in part in the noun. (Henning, 406.)<sup>2</sup> The gender of the pronoun is shown whether used in place of a noun or standing alone, and not only in the third person, but also in the second person singular. In the Bongo language Henning, citing Lepsius, points out that the third personal pronoun distinguishes between masc. and fem., no further differentiation having developed. So also in the Silluk language of the Nile group. In Bari gender has developed in the demonstrative and the possessive pronoun. Abundant illustrative material is contained in Winkler's article. In the Kassia language, e. g., the

<sup>1</sup> I find also, after the above was written, that a similar gender distinction in the pronoun is made in certain native languages of Oregon and the coast to the North, Chinook, Kalapuya and Selish, as also among the Pomo of California where he is *mip*, she, *mit*, him, *mibal*, her *miral* (*American Anthropologist*, V, No. 1, Jan.-March., 1903, p. 15).

<sup>2</sup> Henning's article, *Kuhns Zs.* 1894, pp. 402-419, here cited sets forth in a clear and concise manner the evidence of these non-Aryan languages.

difference in gender is shown by means of a pronominal masc. and fem. article *u* and *ka*, (Winkler, p. 15). In the Singalese there is furthermore a pronominal neuter distinguished (Winkler, p. 17). An excellent illustration is offered by the Bari language, where the highly differentiated pronoun is transferred to the noun as an attached article and serves here to distinguish gender in the noun (Henning 409). And in the Hottentot group there is gender in noun, pronoun, and verb and in the second as well as in the third person. Here likewise the pronominal elements are attached to the noun with the function of an article. Witness the same process exactly noted above in Old Norse and in all the Scandinavian languages. In Swedish it is purely under the influence of the substitutory pronoun aided by favorable negative conditions, that the majority of nouns that were formerly masculine or feminine grammatically, are now no longer so but have coincided into a class by themselves thus forming a new gender category, the *real*-gender, the substitutory pronoun of which is *den*.<sup>1</sup> If we grant this theory to be in the main correct we have in the English language and in the Jutish dialect of Danish the best illustration of the original method of denoting gender. We may expect here to find illustrated what varying influences may be at work toward associating a masculine or a feminine substitutory pronoun with a noun. We have, then, first a period of primitive syntax in which the possibility of denoting gender lay exclusively in the demonstrative pronoun. Then the form-classes appear with the slow development of the gender categories until finally there is created a perfect concord of verb, noun, and adjective in gender, case, and<sup>1</sup> number, the highly inflexional stage which is represented

<sup>1</sup>The gender fluctuation is nicely illustrated in the use of the pronoun for *snäcka*, in Runeberg's *Kungarne på Salamis*, Act 1, Scenes 3 and 4. In Scene 3 Rhaistes uses *den* regularly, e. g., *Här fanns snäcckan; min altså den var. Jag tog den . . . and . . . att jag erkänt nu din rätt till purpursnäcckan, att mot mit förbud, min son den från dig tagit.* In Scene 4, in the speeches of Leontes and Rhaistes the substitutory pronoun is the feminine *hon*, e. g., *Jag ser ej flere än den ena snäcckan, kan altså ej mot en annan mäta henne.* Rhaistes: *Just därför är hon den största, och som sådan är hon min.* Leontes; *Ja väl; men som den en-da är hon minst också, och som den minsta tillhör denne gubbe hon.* Rhaistes: *Om så du menar, unna då oss dela den.*

by Latin and Greek. Then we have a stage in which there is partial obliteration of the gender category. This is represented by German of to-day which no longer has any gender distinctions in the plural or in the predicate-adjective. Inflexional endings are broken down and gender differences further obliterated. This period is represented by the analytic languages, first those in which there is not yet complete obliteration of the gender categories, as French and Danish, in the latter of which all gender distinctions have been lost except in the neuter singular. Second by English the most highly developed of analytic languages in which grammatical gender no longer exists.

§. 4. The study of the change and development of grammatical gender in the historical period we assume, in the main, to have been governed by the same principles as were present and operating in early times. The influences that operated in developing the gender categories at that time must have been largely the same as those we find have exerted influence on the change of gender in languages that we know. The study of the change of gender, then, is important for the question of the origin and nature of gender in general.<sup>1</sup> I believe also that the study of the development of gender in nouns loaned from another language will help to a solution of the larger question. Here we have before our very eyes as it were the process illustrated. A word that is borrowed from a genderless language like the English must, since it has no gender associations, establish these for itself in the language possessing gender into which it is borrowed. What are the causes that operate for this or that gender in such words? In the following pages it will be my aim to try to determine this for English loan-nouns in Norse dialects. The list of 475 nouns on which this discussion is based is intended to be an exhaustive list of nouns borrowed

<sup>1</sup> A most instructive contribution to the study of the change of grammatical gender is Michels: *Zum Wechsel des Nominalgeschlechts im Deutschen*, Strassburg, 1899. On the subject of change of gender from MHG. in particular to Luther see W. W. Florer's article: 'Gender-change from Middle High German to Luther, as seen in the 1545 edition of the Bible,' *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. 15, (1900), pp. 442-491, where excellent illustrative material is offered. A little too much influence is, it seems to me, here sometimes attributed to particular associations.

from English and in general use in the dialects of Utica and Stoughton, Wisconsin. Words that find only occasional use are not included.

§ 5. The Norse settlers of the locality where these words have been collected have come largely from the districts of Sogn, Telemarken and Numedal, Norway. The settlement dates back to 1839, being thus the oldest extensive Norse settlement in America.<sup>1</sup> The country had before been settled by Americans mostly of English descent, from western New York, and their coming dates back to about the year 1800. The occupation is chiefly tobacco farming, the two counties Dane and Rock forming the tobacco district of Wisconsin. A number of the loan-words then, are such as belong to the cultivation and packing of tobacco. Other produce are, corn, oats, barley, wheat, flax, and potatoes. The nouns collected are given in the form they have in the Sogn dialect though the variation in form for the other dialects is very slight being rather one of intonation than of phonology occasioned by the differences in the musical accent as between the three dialects named. The gender of nouns corresponds almost without exception in the dialects in the district represented, a noun that is masculine in one is in nearly all cases masculine in the others. There is also very little fluctuation in gender in any one dialect. In fact the gender of English loan-words, as given in this list is found to correspond very closely to that which they have in Norse dialects in other Norwegian settlements in America. Lists of words from other settlements show, however, a slightly larger proportion of feminines (see below). The close agreement in gender is explained by the fact that in the various dialects the conditions have been the same and the genderizing influences very much the same. Of course not the same words have been borrowed everywhere, so that lexicographically the differences may even be considerable. This consideration might account in part for certain slight differences in the proportion of masculines, feminines, and neuters in different localities. As regards fluctu-

<sup>1</sup>See *Dialect Notes*, Vol. 2, Part 4, pp. 257-259. My list of loan-words is printed there, pp. 260-269; list A includes the nouns on which this article is based.

ation in gender only seven nouns may be either masculine or neuter (leaving out of account mass-words), two are either masculine or feminine, not any fluctuate only between the feminine and the neuter, one may be masc. fem. or neut. There seems to be far more fluctuation in the gender of English loan-words in German in this country.<sup>1</sup> Of these 475 nouns, 341 are regularly masculine. 34 more are masculines with certain limitations to be specified in § 21 below. 78 are neuter and only 22 are feminines. Omitting the 34 words just referred to from the list of masculines, 71 per cent of the whole are masculines, 16 per cent are neuters and 5 per cent are feminines. The proportion of neuters corresponds almost exactly to the proportion of neuters among English loan-words in literary Danish, which is 15 per cent of a list of 240 words as shown by Professor Dodge in an article on the subject in *Americana Germanica* II. 27-32, 1897. The latter, however, makes no attempt to account for the causes that have determined gender, except in a few cases and then on the basis of the influence of native synonyms, which is only one of a variety of influences that have operated, and often, as in these Norse dialects, a minor influence as I shall show below (see especially p. 23, § 19.) In Old Norse approximately 41 per cent of nouns are masculines. 31 per cent are feminines, and about 28 per cent are neuters. These figures are based on an examination of about 5000 words. In modern Norse dialects, according to Aasen, the proportion of neuters seems to be a trifle less 27 per cent, with perhaps a very slight increase in the feminines. There cannot, then, be said to be any tendency away from the neuter gender in Norse, a tendency that certainly is present in Danish. In modern Danish only about 21 per cent of all nouns are neuters (cf. 28 per cent for O. Norse above, which corresponds to the proportion in Old Danish of course), and of words that have come into Danish from English only 15 per cent assume the neuter gender

<sup>1</sup>Of the 392 loan-words listed in Wilson's article on 'The Grammatical Gender of English Words in German,' *Americana Germanica*, 1899, seventy-four or nearly 29 per cent fluctuate in gender. This however represents literary German. The proportions might vary considerably in the dialects in this country.

(so in Dodge's list). This falling off among the neuters is due to the levelling influence of the common gender in Danish. While Danish dialects in general distinguish between a masculine and a feminine gender, the Jutish dialect has lost even the distinctions of the neuter gender, and, like English, has no longer any grammatical gender, thus pointing out the direction in which the Scandinavian languages are tending.

In the list of English loan-nouns in Norse dialects in America the great majority are masculines, while only 5 per cent are feminines. What are the causes that have brought about such a preponderance of masculine nouns over against the feminine gender? The development of the gender in these words is due to a variety of associations, some of which are well-known and everywhere operating in the change of gender, others are peculiarly Scandinavian, these latter being also preëminently masculinizing influences. These associations I shall consider under two heads—Sound-Associations, and Meaning-Associations.

#### I. SOUND- OR FORM-ASSOCIATIONS.

§ 6. When a new word comes into a language possessing grammatical gender it will, since it now must assume gender, immediately become subject to the gender influences or associations present in the language into which it comes. If such a word, by reason of its form, becomes associated with a class of words of a particular gender, such form-association is a very powerful influence toward fixing upon the new word the gender of the class. If this form-association is that of an ending which is regularly connected with a certain gender, a new word possessing that ending is very likely to fall into that particular gender category. There are in Norse dialects five endings that have fixed gender associations, namely (*e*)*ri*, *-tion*, *-el*, *-er*, *-ing*. The endings *ment*, *sel*, *i*, and *st*, are less fixed and have had less influence in determining gender in loan-words.<sup>1</sup> The nouns will here be taken up under separate endings.

<sup>1</sup> The feminine endings *-a*, *-d*, and *heit*, the masculine endings *dom*, *else*, and the neuter endings *-maal* (*maul*), and *-skap* do not occur in the loan-nouns and hence need not here be considered.

*Nouns in -(e)ri.*

§ 7. This is in Norse a very common neuter gender ending. Thirteen loan-nouns have this ending, eleven of which are neuters, namely: *baundri*, *bottri*, *fäkttri*, *faundri*, *grênri*, *kontri*, *krakæri*, *krîmri*, *painri*, *päntri*, and *stêshänäri*. In the case of *kontri* and *krîmri* the gender may also be due in part to the synonyms *Land* and *Mjelke-hûs*. The word *stêshänäri* might have called up the Norse *Skrive-papir* which is neuter. The two words that are not neuters are *jûri* and *histæri*. *Jûri* is a newspaper word of the common gender, the ending of which is the same as that of the masculine gender in the dialects. The word has, furthermore, probably come into the dialects through the newspapers which would then account for the gender in the dialects. *Histæri* belongs to a class of masculines that are functionally associated, the other words of the class being: *äldzæbra*, *dikshänäri*, *dzogræfi*, *grämmær*, *rîdar*, and *ritmætik*. The masculine gender of this class is primarily due to the influence of the literary language. On *sälæri* and *laibræri* see below.

*Nouns in -tion.*

§ 8. These are masculines, as the corresponding ending-class in Norse. Here belong the following words: *äddiishæn*, *edyukêshæn*, *ekskörrshæn*, *eksämenêshæn*, *fäshæn*, *invitêshæn*, *karnêshæn*, *lekshæn*, *lokêshæn*, *môshæn*, *pætishæn*, *pin-kushæn*, *selebrêshæn*, *sensêshæn*, *spspishæn* and *kpmîshæn*. The masculine gender of *invitêshæn* would also be favored by that of the synonym *Indbydelse*, and the Norse *Mode* might have influenced the gender of *fäshæn*. In the following cases the gender of synonyms is different from that of the loan-words: *Valg*, neuter, the synonym of *election*; *Udflugt*, fem. synonym of *excursion*. *Pröva*, f. synonym of *examination*.

*Nouns in -el.*

§ 9. These are regularly masculines as in Norse dialects.<sup>1</sup> The list includes twenty-three words with syllabic *l* as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Fogl*, bird, *Kongel*, spider, *Shaungel*, one who stumbles, *Hvirvel*, whirl, *Handel*, trade, purchase, *Knokkel*, joint, *Nykkjel*, *Lykkjel*, key, *Skavl*, snow-drift,

*baisikl*, *bärrl*, *bokkl*, *bøndl*, *bushəl*, *händl*, *chisl*, *flänl*, *hikrül* (< hickory), *isl*, *mépl*, *pössl*, *sätchəl*, *shingl*, *sikkəl*, *sóshəbl*, *stäbl*, *taill*, *tönnl*, *traisl*, *tébl*, *trobbl*, and *pensl*. Four monosyllables in *l*: *məl*, (mail), *pail* (pile), *pail* (bucket), and *stail* (style), may have received their masculine gender by analagy to the word *traisl* (trial). The synonym *Titel* has helped perhaps in the case of *taill* (Hence a case in which likeness of meaning and similarity of form has operated). So *Blyant* and *Pakke* have, in part, determined the gender of *pensl* and *bøndl*. *Haug* m. 'hill,' may have helped to make *pail* (pile) a masculine. Synonyms that have a different gender from that of the loaned words are: *Tynna*, f. 'barrel,' *Sylja*, f. 'buckle,' *Bry*, n. 'trouble,' *Bord*, n. 'table,' *Fjös*, n. 'stable,' *Gauta*, f. 'puzzle.' In the Numedal dialect the gender of *bøndl* might have been influenced by the word *Pakke*, m. In the Telemarken dialect, however, this word is both a masculine and a feminine. While in the Sogn dialect *Pakke* is masculine and *Pakka* is feminine, both meaning the same.

#### *Nouns in -er (-ar).*

§ 10. The great majority of these are masculines as in Norse. I shall first give a complete list of the masculines. They are: *baindr* (a grade of tobacco), *blattar*, *blöndr*, *bøilar*, *börnar*, *dippər*, *dämpər*, *dressar*, *ellevëtar*, *gëtar* (*gëters* is also used as a singular), *harvistar*, *hélodar*, *hillar*, *jökər*, (the card), *lombər*, *moar*, *ordər*, *pälər* (< parlor) *pinsər*, *pöintar*, *pen-holdar*, *pitchər*, *pökər*, *rípər*, *robbər* (< rubber), *sidar*, *slippər* (and *slippərs*), *sprinklar*, *gófər*, *rövər*, *sörklər* 'circular' and *kräkər* (*kräkərs* also used as a sing). In this class are of course to be included the words *vair* (wire), *tair* (tire), *fair* (and *banfair*) which are also masculines. These words are frequently pronounced as dissyllabic words. The

*Mangel*, lack, want, *Regel*, rule, *Himmel*, heaven, *Aingel*, angel, *Jubel*, rejoicing, *Hövel*, a plane, *Spppel*, broom, *Skammel*, stool, *Slyngel*, scoundel, *Snabel*, nozzle, snout, *Nagl*, nail, tack, (but *Nögl*, f. fingernail). It is of course particularly dialect words that are important for our purpose. Exceptions to this list of masculines are *Hagl*, n. hail, and *Seauvel*, n. sulphur. Observe that these two are mass-words. *El*-words are in literary Norse predominantly com. gend., though the grammars usually fail to state the fact, (cf. *Kjortel*, *Fakkəl*, *Vrimmel*, *Strimmel*, *Nögle*, (pron. *Nökkel*), *Skammel*, *Handel*, *Himmel*, &c).



word *partnar* (a partner in a dance, member of a firm) is also to be included which is a masculine gender noun whether the reference is to a male or a female. So also the word *visitör* (and *visitär*). The influence of related Norse words is here also probable in for instance, *fire* (cf., *eld*, m.), *vair* (*Straing*, m.). In several cases again the gender of synonyms conflicts with that of the loan-word. Of the noun *order* I shall speak below. The five words *badër* (*bathër*), *køvær*, *pastër* 'pasture,' *pitchër* 'picture,' and *taur* 'tower,' are neuters. *Badër* suggested the Norse words *Bry* and *Bryderi* both of which are neuters. *Pitchër* has undoubtedly been influenced by the dialect word *Poträt* 'portrait.' Likewise the Norse neuter *Taarn* has been the chief influence in making *taur* a neuter. The words *køvær* and *pastër* will be considered below.

#### *Nouns in -ing.*

§ 11. This is in Norse a feminine ending. In the list *béking*, *betting*, *hønting*, *kämping*, *klätning*, *måting*, *saiding*, and *trimming* are feminine. *Måting* is occasionally masculine. These it will be noticed are mostly verbal nouns. The two words *rëling* and *sëling* are usually feminines but often masculines. A confusion has evidently taken place here between the endings *-ing* and *-ling*, the latter being a masculine ending. The word *kinling*, where the ending is more distinctively felt as *-ling*, is always a masculine.

#### *The Endings -st, -i, and -ment.*

§ 12. The ending *-st* is in Norse dialects predominantly a masculine one. Examples are: *Vækst*, *Frost*, *Blomst(er)*, *Gnist*, *Ankomst*, *Angest*, *Haust*, *Hest*, *Fest*, *Gjæst*, *Fangst*, *Læst*, *Kyst*, *Pest*, *Rest*. Feminines are: *Lyst*, *Kost*, *Tryst*, *Rost*, *Mast*, *Last*, *Hast*, *Ryst*, all of which are com. gend. in the literary language. *Bryst* and *Kast* are neuter). The following loan-nouns in *-st* are all masculine: *harvist*, *inkvest*, *jøist*, *køst*, *test*, *tøst*, *trist*, *vest*. The synonyms of most of these words are fem. which shows that it is the ending *-st* as a predominantly masculine ending that has here operated. The gender of *i*-suffix nouns varies in Norse with the preponderance again in favor of the masculine. This has created a tendency on the part of *i*-suffix loan-nouns

to become masc., e. g., *boggi*, *brändi*, *fyrsti*, *grævi*, *polli*, *póni*, *pöngki*, *sikyuriti*, *simbli*, *sosaiæti*, *sölki*, although here the influence of related words and group associations have also been present. The gender of *sosaiæti* has been in part decided by the synonym *Forening*. Beverages are as a class masculines, hence especially the gender of *brändi*. Four loan-words in *-i* are regularly neuter: *kaunti*, *kómpeni*, *parrti*, and *shanti*. The primary influence here has been that of the synonyms: *Amt. Distrikt*, *Syssel* which the word *kaunti*, has suggested, *Kompagni*, *Lag*, and *Skjul*, *Veskjul* and the generic *Hus*, these three being suggested by *Shanti*. On *parrti* see further § 21. Words in the suffix *-ment* vary as in Norse. They are: *eksaitmænt*, m. *sessmænt*, m. *imprævmænt*, m. *settlamænt*, n. *kámplæment*, m.

*Isolated stems in final n.*

§ 13. In Norse dialects native words in final *n* if masculine do not suffix the definite article *-en* in the definite form. That is, the indefinite and the definite forms are identical except that the final *n* sound is sometimes prolonged when the noun is used in the definite. Even this difference is present only when the word is in stressed position, e. g., *Mann*, man, *mann*, the man; *Stain*, stone, *Stain* or *Stainn*, the stone. The words *Munn*, *Björn*, *Brynn* (*y* here represents a sound between *ö* and *ü*), *Grunn*, *Dún*, *Món*, *Saan*, *Kæun*, and *Orden* are both indefinite and definite. This is also commonly the case in Swedish dialects, cf., *han sköt BJÖRN* (he shot the bear), *har du set HUNN?* (have you seen the dog?), *den store OCEAN*, (for *oceanen*) 'the big ocean.' In literary Swedish the definite article *-(e)n* is not added in the following nouns that end in *n*: *början*, *längtan*, *fröken*, *lekamen*, *examen*, *orden*, and frequently in the following words stressed on the last syllable: *baron*, *kapten*, *patron*, *kusin*, *pantheon*, and sometimes nouns in *-tion*, e. g., *är baron hemma*, 'is the baron at home?' The final *n* has, then, in these words (through the process *baronen* > *baronn* > *baron*) assumed definite article function. It is easily understood, therefore, how final *-n* in loan-words might assume the office of a definite article. This becomes then at the same time a masculinizing influence. Out of 27 nouns in final

*n* 21 have become masculine through this influence. They are the following: *barn*, *bargin*, *fân*, *lôn*, *laisn*, (licence), *lemən*, *gardn*, *gên*, *fain* (fine), *kérsin*, *opinyən*, *pän*, *pîn*, *pəisn*, *ribbən*, (ribbon), *salôn* (< saloon), *twain* (twine), *plân*, *klaun*, *éprən*, *brand* (< bran). A proof of the correctness of this explanation of the masculine gender in these nouns is offered by the word *barn*. In the indefinite form this word very commonly appears as *bare*, where the fact that the *n* is a part of the stem has been lost sight of and it has taken on purely article force. In the indefinite form *n* has then later been dropped and the new form *bar*, *bare* resulted. It is interesting to note that *bare* has later in some localities come to be used as a feminine developing a new definite form *barao* or *bara*, according to the dialect. Other influences may also have operated in some of these words, so the cognate "*Plan*" in the case of *plân* and possibly literary influence in *barn*, *lôn*, *lemən*. The six neuter stems in *n* *trên*, *taun*, *tavan*, *sain*, (sign), *körtn*, and *skrin* will be discussed below. The last two of these are occasionally masculine.

§ 14. In 153 nouns then, considered above, the influence of ending has been the primary cause in fixing gender. Of these 132 are masculines, 11 are neuters, and 10 are feminines. The great preponderance of masculines here is to be noted. It is also to be observed that there are a large number of loan-nouns whose gender conflicts with that of synonyms, the loaned word having usually assumed the gender of the nouns with which its ending associated it.

*The masculinizng influence of the literary language.*

§ 15. Literary Norse has only two grammatical genders,—the common and the neuter. This common gender corresponds to the former masculine and feminine which merged in early Danish. Formally this common gender is closely associated with the masculine gender of the dialects, the indefinite article is the same for both and the post-positive definite article is the same. This fact has undoubtedly been an important masculinizng influence in our list of nouns in the masculine-feminine

category. This influence is so much more certain as many of the nouns in question are also used in the newspapers read everywhere, throughout Norwegian settlements. Just how extensive this influence has been is, however, very difficult to ascertain. Just in which cases it has operated as the primary influence will be almost impossible to say. Wherever the negative conditions are such that a noun may become either a masculine or a feminine, its general influence will be a very strong one for the masculine gender. In the case of those nouns that are predominantly newspaper words or would seem to have come into the dialects through the newspapers it will perhaps be fairly safe to say that it has been a primary cause. We may perhaps also say that regular dialect loan-words that are used quite frequently in the newspapers would tend to assume the gender that they have in the newspapers. This would of course only be a tendency that might be diverted in any one case by any opposing positive influence. The following nouns are regularly used in the newspapers as common gender nouns. We are justified in assuming that that fact has been in part the influence that has given to the same nouns the masculine gender in the dialects. The list contains about 50 nouns, as follows: *block, blizzard, buffalo, buggy, bureau, basket, dime, deed, depot, draft, farm, feed, harvest, humbug, improvement, inquest, job, carpet, assembly, notice, office, pie, pint, peck, plea, cyclone, cent, porch, risk, strike, style, street, tariff, ticket, tax, toast, (speech at a banquet), trunk, whiskey, mob, mortgage, jury*, and perhaps a few more.

The following neuters occur regularly in the Norse newspapers, the corresponding words being also neuters in the dialects: *fence, town, drug-store, board (of men), sign, settlement, government, party, train, team*. The three nouns *taun, trén, and sain*, which we should have expected to become masculines in the dialects, as stems in *n* regularly have, are then neuters because of this literary influence (see above § 13).

#### *Meaning Associations.*

§ 16. We shall here first take up the influence of synonyms. In the first period only such words were borrowed, as a

rule, as represented new ideas. Later we find loans taking place more generally. Words that only in part represented new ideas were now freely borrowed. In the later period borrowing has taken place on a large scale without any regard to the real need for the word. The result is that the dialects are now characterized by a host of doublets, the one word native Norse, the other English. In many cases the English word has entirely replaced the Norse. Among words of this last class, then, we should expect to find that the Norse synonyms have exerted influence on the gender of the loan-word, and especially so in the case of words whose meanings corresponded very closely or that are still used side by side. The associations of meaning here present may be of various kinds: 1, likeness of meaning, where may also be included contrast of meaning; 2, related meaning with difference of form; 3, likeness of meaning and partial likeness of form; 4, likeness of form and difference of meaning. The third of these would comprise especially cognates. The fourth is of course purely a formal association. Of this I shall speak below. For our purpose it will be best to consider 1, 2, and 3, together. The stems will be given separately and under each stem the Norse synonyms with collateral influences that may have operated.

#### *Masculines.*

§ 17. *Bórd*, 'board.' Norse synonym *Køst*, which is still in common use.

*Bøtt*, 'button.' Norse synonym *Knap*, masc. which is still the usual word.

*Brekfast*, 'breakfast.' Norse *Frukost*, lit. word *Frokost* com. gend. The associated word *Middag*, 'dinner,' has also undoubtedly been influential here. In the same way the more recent loan *dinner*, *dönn*, has become a masculine. In *brekfast* the ending *-st* may also have had some influence, see § 12 above.

*Brám*, 'broom.' Norse synonyms are *Låne* and *Søppel*, both being in regular use. The literary word *Gyvel* com. gend., 'broom' is unknown to these dialects. *Brám*, which is probably a comparatively late loan-word, is still somewhat limited in use.

*Brosh*, 'brush.' Norse synonym *Køst*, masc. in common use.

*Chis*, 'cheese.' Norse synonym *Qst*, *Ost*, masc. (with many compounds) is still the usual word.

*Diffrens*, 'difference.' Norse word *Förskjil*, *Forskjel*, masc.

*Envelop*, 'envelope.' The synonym in Norse dialect is *Konferlutt*, (also *Kongvelutt*), in the literary language it is *Konvolut*, common gender.

*Glov*, *Glovs*, 'glove.' Norse syn. *Hanske*, masc.

*Grämmär*, 'grammar.' Norse syn. *Grammatik*, masc. The influence of associated words, as a group has also operated here. See above p. 13, § 7.

*Hill*, 'hill.' Norse syn. *Haug*, masc. *Haug* is the generic word. The loan-word has received a specialized meaning. In the tobacco-planting season the earth that is hoed up and flattened down into a round flat little heap for the tobacco-plant is called a 'hill.' Otherwise the word *Haug* is regularly used.

*Hukk*, 'hook.' Norse syn. *Krök*, masc.

*Hedék*, 'head-ache.' Norse syn. *Høveverk*. Literary word *Hovedpine*, common gender.

*Inch*, 'inch.' Norse syn. *Tomme*, masc. This is also the literary word, which is com. gend.

*Kattar*, 'cutter,' a knife used for cutting tobacco-plants in the harvesting season. Norse syn. *Kniv*, masc.

*Kattar*, a 'cutter' (a vehicle). Norse syn. *Kutter*, masc. The gender may also have been influenced in part by the ending *-ar*.

*Ki*, 'key.' Norse syn. in the dialect *Nykkjel*, *Nykkel* and *Lykkjel* masc. The lit. syn. is *Nögle* (and *Nökkel*), com. gend. *Ki* is hardly in general use yet.

*Laik*, 'lake.' The masc. gender is probably due chiefly to the generic *Sjö*. The syn. *Insjö* is no longer used and *Sjö* is used only of a larger body of water. *Laik* is the regular word for any small inland body of water.

*Mirrær*, 'mirror.' A word that is not yet in common use. The masc. gender is due partly to the Norse syn. *Speigel*, the dialect word for mirror, and partly to the masc. ending *er*. The literary word *Speil* is neuter.

*Mél*, 'mail.' Norse syn. *Post*, masc. and lit. word *Post*, com. gend. See p. 14, § 9.

*Ngis*, 'noise.' The Norse synonyms are *Brauk*, *Støi*, and *Leven*, all of which are masc. Lit. words are com. gend.

*Plét*, 'plate.' Norse syn. *Talerken*, which is a masc. in the dialect and com. gend. in the literary language. *Plét* is a very early loan-word and has entirely taken the place of the native word.

*Pólka*, 'polka.' Norse synonym and cognate *Pølka*. Group influence is also present here, see § 20, p. 25.

*Profit*, 'profit.' Norse word. *Fördél*, masc. literary form, *Fordel*, com. gend. A formal influence may also have operated here. There are in the list a number of words, ending in *et* (*it*), that are masculines. This may in time have caused this ending to be felt as a masculine ending, and new words possessing this ending have by analogy tended to become masculines. The list of words in *et* (*it*), includes the following: *biskit*, *blänket*, *bøkket*, *bäskit*, *hätchit*, *jäkket*, *karpæt*, *korsæt*, *lakkæt*, *miskit*, *pakæt*, *pämflæt*, *sakkæt*, *tikkit*, *visit*. Cf. also *Køltivét* and *Rål-estét*. *Bäskit* and *hätchit* are also pronounced *bäskæt*, *hätchæt*.

*Shär*, 'share.' Norse syn. *Del*. masc.

*Spích*, 'speech.' Norse syn. *Tale* masc. (occasionally also feminine). The literary word *Tale* is com. gend. *Spích* is the usual word, though *Tale* is felt to be the finer word. Very often the contrary is the case.

*Sték*, *Bífsték*, 'steak, beefsteak.' Norse syn. *Steik*, masc. Literary word *Steg*, com. gend.

*Sát*, 'suit of clothes.' Norse *Klædning*, m. also the literary word where it has com. gend.

Two words that have a masculine and a feminine synonym have assumed the masculine gender, viz: *Jäkkæt*, 'jacket.' The Norse synonyms are *Blúse*, masc. and *Troia*, fem. *Préssant*, 'present.' The Norse syn. *Presang* (< French *Présent*), is a masc. The syn. *Gave*, *Gaua*, is fem.

#### *Neuters.*

§ 18. *Bír*, 'beer.' The occasional neuter gender is due to the Norse *Øl*, masc. *Bír* is however, usually masc., following thus the gender of other names of beverages.

*Kård*, 'card.' Norse *Kort*, neuter. In present use the two have been specialized. The native word is applied only to playing cards while the English word always means a visiting card, the Norse word for which is *Navne-kort* (name-card).

*Shed*, 'shed.' Occasionally neuter due to the dialectal *Veaskjul*, and the literary word *Skjul*, neuter. *Shed* is more often masc.

*Tåvan*, 'tavern.' Norse *Hotel*. One of the earliest loans but now rarely used, having given way to 'hotel.' Other neuters that belong here, but that have been discussed above are, *bader*, *pitchær*, *taur* (§ 10), *kaunti*, *kompeni*, *shanti* (§ 12).

#### *Feminines.*

§ 19. *Fil*, 'field.' The reason for the feminine gender in this word is not clear. The word that it naturally calls up is *Aaker*, *Auker*, which is a masculine, in the dialects and *Ager* the literary word which is a common gender noun. *Fil* seems everywhere to be a feminine and is not used in the newspapers. In Swedish dialects the word occurs also as an English loan-word and is of the 'real' (or common) gender, and in literary Norse, if used, it would have the common gender. Because of *Auker* and *Ager* we should have expected *Fil* to become a masculine. *Fil* is one of the earliest loans, from the first practically entirely taking the place of *Auker* and *Aaker*. It seems to have been loaned earliest in the Telemarken dialect. It is possible that the word was originally predominantly masculine by influence of *Auker*, &c., and that the related word *Mark*, which is feminine in the dialects, has influenced the gender also in part, in such a way that it sometimes came to be used as a feminine. *Auker* and *Aaker* early fell out of use, but *Mark* continued to be used and is in common use to-day. By association with *Marki* and *marka*, then, the definite feminine forms of *Mark*, it assumed definitely the feminine gender. Why *Fil* should be borrowed and come to be used instead of the exact synonym *Auker*, *Aaker* is difficult to say. Perhaps the fact that it was a shorter word and one easier to pronounce may have helped.

*Gømm*, 'gum.' The feminine gender of this word is due to the Telemarken dialect word *Kvga*, which is a feminine, and



whence it has come into the Sogn dialect. In the Numedal dialect, where *Kvøa* does not seem to be used. *Gømm* is a masculine.

*Injain*, *injaina*, 'engine.' The fem. gender is probably due chiefly to the Norse *Maskina* in the dialect. *Injain* is used only of the steam engine that drives the threshing machine. The ending *-a* in the more usual form may be due to the ending *-a* in *Maskina*, or may have been transferred to the indefinite form from the definite *Injaina*, *Injainao*.

*Insyurøns*, *Insyuring*, 'insurance.' A fem. as the dialect synonym *Forsikring* is. The form *insyuring* is probably due to the ending of the Norse word.

*Plänte*, 'plant.' The word is a hybrid, the vowel being due to the English cognate and synonym *plant*, while the vowel ending *-e* is that of the corresponding Norse word *Plante*. The word *plänte* is only used of the tobacco-plant, otherwise *plante* is the regular word, used only in the Telemarken and Nummedahl dialects. In the Sogn dialect the word *Planta* is used for the tobacco-plant as well as for other kinds of plants.

*Trokks*, 'truck-wagon.' Feminine gender due to the generic *Vogn* fem. in Norse dialects. In the literary language *Vogn* is a common gender noun.

*Yogg*, 'jug.' Norse synonym is *Krukka*, which is still also the regular word.

On cases where synonyms have influenced in part the gender of loan-words see pp. 13-14, §§ 7-10.

§ 20. The following are some of the most common cases of masculine loan-words, that correspond to neuter or feminine synonyms: *Bax* (*Kassa*, f.); *bargin* (*Kjöp*, n.); *bet* (*Vaugemaal*, n.); *bläck-bord* (*Bord*, n.); *bøkkl* (*Sylja*, f.); *bushel* (*Skjeppa*, f.); *bäskit* (*Korg*, f.); *ryver* (*Au*, f.); *fail* (*Slagsmaal*, n.); *fens* (*Gjærde*, n.); *gëm* (*Spæl*, n. but *Laik*, m.); *harvist* (—*ønn*, f.); *impruvment* (*Förbedring*, f.); *Kersin* (*Olja*, f.); *laisn* (*Bevilgning*, f.); *løn* (*Tún*, n.); *Møk* (*Gjærdsel*, f. *Gjære*, f.); *myul* (*Æsel*, n.); *nektai* (*Slaaifa*, f.); *lemøn* (*Citrona*, f.); (*dønner*) *-pël* (*Spann*, n.); *poisn* (*Gift*, f.); *ribbøn* (*Bora*, f.); *sens* (*Vit*, n.); *skët* (*Skjaaita*, f.); *sopper* (*Qvelsmaalid*, n.); *språng* (*Fjör*, f.); *stråt* (*Gata*, f.); *tëbl* (*Bord*, n.); *test* (*Pröva*, f.); *trip* (*Rais*, f.).

§ 21. Influence of words that are like in form but different

in meaning (see § 16) cannot be shown to have operated in the loan-words. Great care is necessary in words of this class and influence on gender rarely to be assumed. Only one word need here be considered as a possible case: the Norse *Parti*, n. 'part, share; faction, division,' may in part have operated toward fixing upon the loan-word *party*, 'a social gathering,' the neuter gender. Most nouns in a final *-i* sound are masculine in the loan-words it may be noted. However the primary, perhaps the exclusive influence here has been the synonym *Lag*, n. 'a social gathering,' which is still in regular use. In the words *skrin*, 'wire netting,' and *fil*, 'field,' the phonologically identical Norse words *Skrin*, 'a case, a chest,' and *Fil*, 1, 'a file,' 2, 'the right bower in playing cards,' the meanings are so widely removed that influence on gender is out of the question. To bring about analogy in gender some relationship in concept is to be assumed as necessary. Such a relation exists between the Norse *Parti* in the meaning 'faction,' and the English, and dialect loan-word *party*, 'a social gathering.' The German *Schild* whose change to the neuter seems to have been influenced by the word *Bild* is a case in point, cp. *Bild*, *bemaltes Schild*, *Wirtshausschild* (Michels, *Zum wechsel des nominalgeschlechts im Deutschen*, p. 9). There is not then in these cases absolute diversity of signification.<sup>1</sup>

#### GROUP ASSOCIATIONS.

§ 22. We have above considered those meaning associations in which a word calls up a native word very closely related to it in meaning such as cognates and synonyms. We have now to consider certain group associations, in which a word, because of its functional relation to a group of associated words, tends to assume the gender of that group. Naturally a large number of

<sup>1</sup>The transition of MHG. *gruoz(e)*, masc-fem. (Florer, p. 461) to a masculine was caused chiefly by *der buss* and *der kuss* which *Gruoz* suggested. The influence of rhyme-words probably helped in part here. The extent of such influence depending, of course, entirely upon the strength or weakness of the particular gender associations, in this case the masculine associations, that such stem-forms have. Where there is as here a group of similar stems there may be absolute divergence of meaning.

the words in the list are such as are name of tools and farm implements, since these for a large part were new and with the new object came also the name. As these words are in Norse masculine so they became masculine here also. The class includes the following words: *harvistar*, *sidar*, *moar*, *ripær*, *bindar*, *køltivét*, *sikkel*, *chisel*, *hetchit*, *hø*, *rinch*, *rins* (wrench), *skru-draivar*, *skvår*, *pinsær*, *kattar*, *fense-stretchar*, *hillar*, *horspaur*, *hélodar*, *nekyog*, *polli*, *pæn*, *pail*, *hal-bushæl*, *dippær*, *sprinklar*, *pekk*, *króbar*, *spaik*, *täx*, *spring*, *händl*, *rular*, *söpperaitar*, *räk*, *sölki*, *skrépær*, *välv*, *rich*, *pitman*, *sylindær*, and perhaps a few others.

Collateral influences have also operated in many cases here, such as the endings *-el*, *-er*, and also in a few cases the ending *-i*, see §§ 9, 12, and 13. In some instances a Norse word with a synonymous meaning may have influenced in part the gender of the loan-word. This last influence is of minor importance, however, in this class and need not occupy our attention here.

Names of flowers, fruits, and plants are in Norse predominantly masculine. Here belong the following loan-words: *grøn*, *lemøn*, *bänäna*, *päch*, *grép* and *gréps* (both used as singulars), *cräb* (but *kräb-epplä*, neuter), *gäréniam*, *karnëshän*.

The two names of trees, *mépl*, and *hikril* (hickory) are probably masculines by influence of the masculine ending, see § 9.

Names of vegetables are regularly masculines. The list includes: *käbbij*, *büts*, *rädish*, *törnip*, *rutabégo*, *tométo*, *lettis*, *seläri*, *kyukqmbær*.

Names of dances are masculine as in Norse, viz: *kødril*, *kotilyän*, *pölka* (Norse, *Pölka*), *shattish*, *tu-step*, *Virginia ril*, *gävat*. On the word *pölka* see also § 17.

Words denoting parts of wearing apparel are predominantly masculine in Norse dialects, which accounts for the masculine gender of: *Köt*, *vest*, *gløv*, *nektai*, *gétær*, *mufflær*, *koff*, and perhaps also *búsom*. The masculine gender of the word *Sát*, 'suit' is probably due chiefly to the synonym *Klädning*, cf. § 17.

Under the head of Meaning Associations we have then considered about 125 words, or 26 per cent. of the whole number, of which 75 have received their gender chiefly by influence of words associated in a group, and about 50 by influence of synonyms.

## CONCLUSION.

§ 23. In conclusion, then, it has been shown that a variety of associations have operated to fix the gender of English loan-words in Norse dialects in America. Of these certain fixed formal groups, endings that have well defined gender associations are of special importance. About 150 words or a little over 32 per cent. of the whole number have assumed a certain gender chiefly through this influence. As far as this purely formal association has been operative the result has been the masculine gender in a great majority of cases, 132 of the 150. It has also been shown that stems in final *n* have in nearly all cases become masculines. This is due to the tendency of such final *n* to assume the function of a post-positive article, since final *n* in native masculines has that function. In all such cases where the *n* assumes article function, it fixes in the dialect the masculine gender. The gender of 21 words has been fixed in this way. The influence of the common gender of the literary language has probably been extensive, but just how far such influence has operated it is not possible to ascertain since here definite criteria fail. From the occurrence in the newspapers of a number of the dialect loan-words, however, and from the fact that the gender symbol, the article ending in nearly all these cases coincides with that of the dialects it would seem that about 60 nouns have received their gender primarily by influence of the literary language (by which is meant here the language of the American Norwegian newspapers where many English words are used). Of this list only 10 are neuters. This is then an important masculinizing influence, that may have operated even in words that are rarely or never used in the newspapers. It furthermore becomes a direct influence against developing feminine gender nouns. In the neuter category it would act as a preserving influence. The formal associations are then predominantly masculinizing influences. Under meaning associations that of synonyms would seem to have been the primary cause in determining the gender of about 50 nouns. The influence of synonyms has very often failed to operate where opposing

positive influences have been present. Especially often has it yielded to that of an ending with fixed gender associations. Functionally associated groups have been a strong gender influence. New groups of functionally associated nouns of one gender, have formed themselves in the loan-words, not having corresponding groups in Norse. Such groupings may originally be due to the fact that the earliest loans of the group assumed a particular gender by influence of form or meaning, and new words coming in and naturally associating themselves with such group would tend to take the gender of the group. Conceivably it might also be due to the fact that the generic word of that class had a particular gender. Names of beverages and articles of food all have the masculine gender, a fact that may be accounted for at least partly under this head. Of the whole number of 475 nouns the gender of about 120, or 25 per cent. cannot be accounted for on the basis of form or meaning or functional associations. It may be noted that of the whole body of words where the genderizing associations seem plain, 351 in all, 276 are masculines, 57 are neuters, and 18 are feminines. A certain preponderance of the masculine also characterizes that part of the native vocabulary that represents ordinary everyday speech. Of such words in these Norse dialects, 52 per cent. are masculines, 29 per cent. are feminines, and 19 per cent. are neuters. This is significant. It is of course the common every-day vocabulary that must here be taken into account. The proportions given here are based on a carefully collected list of the words of ordinary speech. Over half of these are of the masculine gender, that is over half of every-day nouns have masculine gender associations. These gender symbols are here the indefinite pre-positive article, the definite post-positive article and the substitutory pronoun. This preponderance of the masculine symbols becomes itself an indirect masculinizing influence. New nouns that do not naturally fall into a fixed gender category by reason of formal or functional associations would tend to become masculines just in proportion as masculine symbols exceed the other gender symbols. Furthermore traceable gender influences creates a preponderance of the masculines in the loan-words, which would tend to give the

direction to new loan-nouns. If the negative conditions are alike as between the masculine and the neuter the possibility of a neuter developing is present. Positive neuter influence would probably fix the neuter gender and the neuter once established change to another gender would be in part hindered by the various neuter inflexional forms, such as the neuter ending of the adjective and the peculiar plural formations. In so far as indirect influence of the literary language might be present that would generally be a preserving influence for the neuters. With the feminine the case is very different. While there are more feminines than neuters in native words, there are in present dialect speech as we have seen above very few feminizing influences, formal or functional. Of the whole number only about 5 per cent have become feminines. The tendency toward the feminine gender would be exceedingly small. The preponderance of masculines due to known causes and the influence of the common gender would act as masculinizing influences, and the last would be a direct influence against the feminine gender. The positive influence for the feminine gender would have to be exceedingly strong in order to establish the feminine gender in any one case. Feminine groups are much broken up in Norse by the presence of masculines. Group associations would be weak then. We should of course expect feminine synonyms to operate often perhaps, but it has been shown that the influence of synonyms is a weak one where there are opposing influences present. There also exists the possibility of a feminine passing over into the masculine category. The differences between the masculine and the feminine category has become obliterated in the plural. Nouns used chiefly in the plural might then easily pass over from one to the other. That the tendency would be overwhelmingly in favor of the masculine is clear to us when we bear in mind that the masculine-feminine plural ending is in the great majority of cases associated with the masculine singular ending and the masculine pronoun. Furthermore the masculine-feminine adjective forms are the same in the singular and the plural, and the demonstrative pronoun is the same (dial. *dan* for masc. and fem. neuter *da*). In the singular of the article, the pre-positive indefinite and the post-positive definite,

the gender symbols are distinct. Cases of transition from one to the other gender would be difficult to establish now. That there were more feminines in the dialects in question earlier is rendered probable by the fact that in younger settlements the proportion of feminines is somewhat larger than in our list. (Of English loan-nouns in Norse dialects in western Goodhue Co., Minn., 8 per cent are feminines,<sup>1</sup> and in the dialects of Nerstrand, Minn., about 10 per cent are feminines.<sup>2</sup>

Our list of nouns is of interest as illustrating some points in the nature of gender at present in dialects where gender categories are much broken up but where three distinct grammatical genders still remain. These points are best illustrated in loan-words coming from a genderless language. The neuter is the gender of matter, mass, and indefinite quantity. Thus, in the list, nouns that represent mass or quantity-concepts, and that are consequently incapable of pluralization, are neuter. A number of nouns that are regularly used as masculines or feminines when a particular amount or quantity is indicated are neuters whenever the quantity is not specified, when it is the idea of mass or bulk that is uppermost in the mind. Such words are: *bîr*, *brändi*, *lemenêd*, *møttæn*, *vîl*, *jelli*, *jäm*, *disört*, *gingom*, *kalko*, &c. The same is the case with such words as *mail* and *insurance*. Some mail and some insurance is *nøkø mail*, *nøkø insuræns*, rarely *nøken nêl*, *nøken inshuræns*, but "the mail" and "the insurance"

<sup>1</sup> See the list offered by Flaten in *Dialect Notes*, 2, 2, pp. 120-126.

<sup>2</sup> In Prof. Wilson's summary on p. 19 of 'The Grammatical gender of English Words in German' we note that of 392 words 136 only are always masculine while 54 others may be masculine but are also neuter and feminine, 129 are regularly, and 71 more occasionally neuter. Any tendency in favor of the masculine gender as compared with the neuter is not evidenced. The absolute tendency then which seems to exist (Wilson, p. 15) is measured by the amount that masculine loan-nouns actually exceed native German masculines. There is, however, a very pronounced tendency toward the masculine gender as over against the feminine. Of the whole number only 53, or 13½ per cent, are always feminine and 28 more occasionally, the relative number of which is certainly far below that of native German words. As between the masculine and the feminine the tendency is for the masculine and against the feminine, —only eight nouns may be used as masculine or feminine. Florer pointed out, p. 471, that fluctuating nouns tend to become masc. as between MHG and NHG.

becomes *mêlen*, and *inshurænsi*, *inshuringi* (not *melet*, and *inshurænset*). As in Norse the masculine personal and substitutory pronoun is pre-eminently the pronoun of familiar designation, the masculine gender in the loan-words becomes especially the gender of familiar particularization. The feminine gender is more particularly the gender of distinctively feminine associations.<sup>1</sup> It more readily calls up the idea of sex than does the masculine pronoun. If we say *hø*, "she" the idea of sex is apt to be called up, something that is not the case with *han*. In *han* the sex-idea has been partly obliterated. Herein lies also then a most important explanation of the fact that the masculine gender has established itself in so many cases where we otherwise might have expected the feminine.

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<sup>1</sup> In the Bilin language, which possesses grammatical gender, there are only natural feminines, no purely grammatical feminines (Henning 411), and in the Bischari language the number of (non-natural) purely grammatical feminines is exceedingly small as compared with the purely grammatical masculines.